622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-
285 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

767 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the
838 latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If,
767 while digging, they came upon another burial,
764 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 46 C] Paleuyami

look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance (to'onči 'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

All of the buriers were called tonoč:m, but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[584] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her
[181] husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts
[767] society as a handler and burier of the dead and singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until interment. [767] Some professional corpse-handlers (tono·č:m) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men. [482]

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč:m) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 767 All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonoč·m who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai'·s, who was cremated [766] by his two wives, Mawo'kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku'do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonoč·m were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 286] The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonoč·m by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonoč·m said, "I have carried you, čoinəmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭ·pni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonoč·m and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the 767 mourners washed the tonoč·m and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonoč·m were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonoč·m, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

[P. 107b] Wukchumni

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´n·č, and another known mother, Tu´n·č. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonoč·m was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonoč·m. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonoč·m were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonoč·m were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

[P. 125 a] Western Mono NS25

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka·suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

Y [426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y M 769 regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Wakaachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were 648 767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.1256] Wukchumni NS25
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them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiw·ñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769
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The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" (the Wukchumni Pohots) were not there.

769 Ritual weeping.---Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the 767 tonoč·m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning 152 songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

[I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[279]

769 Effigy-making.---The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and 532 Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[279] Ibid., 73.

used his hand feather bunch to brush down the body of the patient. A winatum held a tray beside him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

In discussing the revivings, J.P. said that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim, "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday) the group of people known as tonoč:m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t:č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč:m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
● 767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. When the dance ended the tonoč·m retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although
[783] this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
[152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529
[P. 149 b] Choiwinni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čim) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is an´tim. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 168 9] Kechyi

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'·č). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called pem·k. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji·l·t, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

The chief of the mourning family's com- [622] munity decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group [621] to the south. The Chukchansi communities were small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

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The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tono ˇčːm, Michahai; tai ´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

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The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoˇčːm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

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While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

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Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

na ´na hua ˇčiči: newborn boy
hu ´pi hua ˇčiči: newborn girl
na ´načiː boy about two years old
si ´i ´sačiː girl about two years old
hua ´wuha na ´nači (or si ´isačiː twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na ´nop na ´načiː boy five to ten years old
hu ´u ´pi mo ´nanopː girl five to ten years old
moa ´bi na ´nopː youth twelve to twenty years old

W [P. 2367] Western Mono NS25

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561 moa ʻbi hu ʻu ʻpi na ʻnop: girl twelve to twenty years old

192 moa ʻbi ti ʻkinana: young man twenty to forty years old

hu ʻu ʻpi ʻtu ʻamoge: young woman having borne children

moa ʻbi na ʻnany·p: man forty to sixty years old

moa ʻbi nana ʻpi ʻep: woman forty to sixty years old

moa ʻbi moa ʻbh·l·p: old man

moa ʻbi hube ʻči ʻep: old woman

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Death

763 When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ʻkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ʻči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

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Cremation.---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

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[769] S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

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[192] In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ʻlău mai (burn person, cremation); luku ʻlău mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ʻi ʻči (person dead); pučo ʻn tac ʻi ʻči (man dead); muti ʻnoi tao ʻi ʻči (woman dead).

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Burial.---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ʻnoluč (tawa ʻtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 237 a] Western Mono N525

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[375] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y [783] all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y ●767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonoč:m, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.---A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´n:l (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba´wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight (it does not go up). There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tib:´kn:č).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[375] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP 2509 Western Mono NS 25

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

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The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču'šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao'šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu'buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 250 b] Western Mono VS 25
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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´mil·t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u·narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hinuta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn.* Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance